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PREFACE.



PERSIA with its young and patriotic Moslems is awakened and the latter have stretched the kindly hand of fraternity to their Zoroastrian compatriots and the Parsis of India. The Indian Zoroastrians have been separated from the old country for centuries but have never ceased casting a longing loving glance at the homeland of their origin and religion. Intermittently they carried on correspondence with their co-religionists in Yezd and Kerman. Persia is to-day subordinating every consideration to that of consolidation of the Iranian fraternity. Zoroastrians delight and participate in this patriotic movement. In order to achieve the noble end the first essential is wider education

which will remove whatever lingers of the mediæval unreasoned prejudice.

Mr. Pestonji Dosabhoj Marker has established organised educational institutions to supplement several already existing, thanks to the Zoroastrian Amelioration Society founded by the first Sir Dinshaw Petit Baronet and to the local Zoroastrians of Persia. Mr. Marker has now expanded the scope of his endeavours and planned to create literature suitable to the requirements of young Iran. Being a devoted Zoroastrian his susceptibilities regarding his co-religionists can be easily understood. It is a privilege to work with benefactors of catholic instincts who include all Iran within the purview of their enlightened benevolence.

The general intellectual betterment of Iran to-day can be attempted in two ways. Either a vigorous propaganda by means of educational institutions and public organs should inaugurate and

carry out for the general mass of Iranians a comprehensive programme or attention must be concentrated exclusively on the future hope of Iran, who are its intelligent children. The former course may appeal to many as the speedier one. The building of the character of the young Zoroastrians however, with special reference to honest history, pointing ultimately to wider patriotism, must be a constituent of any scheme for the development of the rising generation.

The first step towards advancement is to take a retrospective glance and discover the causes of the decadence of the Zoroastrian community. Once ascertained, they can be removed and further progress achieved along sane and feasible lines.

There is no denying the relatively deplorable plight of the present-day Zoroastrians. With as keen an intellect as any with which Providence has endowed

any part of his creation, the youth of Iran run to seed because of lack of a systematic training which should take cognizance of body, morals and mind. The Zoroastrians are no longer under the complaisant delusion that their unhappiness is due in its entirety to the government under which they have lived. It is not claimed that the Moslem Persian administration has been a model of perfection. But on the other hand before Zoroastrians find fault with the rulers, it is essential that as seekers after truth they attend to the beam in their eyes prior to criticising the mote that is in others. As a matter of fact, the manifest decadence of Zoroastrians in Persia dates not from the Arab but from the Afghan invasion. And in our investigations I would much rather err on the side of excessive self-reproach than unfounded accusations against others. Had the community not been rent by mutual dissensions and ruinous

jealousies, it would not have reached the unspeakable cultural nadir of the present day. Soon after the fall of the Sassanian Empire, as province after province surrendered to the invading Arabs, treaties were made by the local Governors with the victors in quite a number of which free practice of religion was accorded. This may appear astounding to those brought up under an unveracious tradition. Nevertheless it represents documentary evidence which there is little on our side, either embodied in history or enshrined in hereditary memory, to honestly controvert. When we remember that considerable religious liberty was at first granted to us, we realize the neglect on our own part and cease to censure others with the consequences of our own doings and omissions.

This little book contains two charters reported to have been granted by the founder of Islam and his great son-in-

law the pious fourth Khalifa, to the Zoroastrians, in which religious tolerance is particularly emphasised, in a manner which must appear extraordinary and exceptional to those who have remained content with self-sufficient hypothesis of Parsis having sacrificed their all in Iran "for the sake of religion dearer than life". History is strewn with scores of authenticated treaties incorporating the same spirit of tolerance in still clearer text.

I was first attracted to these documents by a notice of the book in the wonderful work of the late Professor Goldziher, the lamented master of Arabic literature. On enquiries I was helped to procure copies of the book by the courtesy of Bai Gulbai daughter of the scholarly Mr. Sorabji himself, a son of the first Parsi and Indian Baronet. Mr. Sorabji who published his book in 1861 evinced unprecedented knowledge of

Arabic and has done a great service to his community by endeavouring to be fair to the early Islamic rulers of Persia and publishing these charters and allied records.

Are these grants, however, genuine ? Frankly speaking neither the language of the original Arabic nor the Persian version, which is probably made in India, supports the assumption of their unquestioned authenticity. But they demonstrate a fact of supreme importance : They are witnesses to the spirit of tolerance of early Islam and of the protection which it accorded to the *Ahali Kitab* among whom the Zoroastrians were included. If these are spurious, there are dozens of others which are genuine. If the present text of the documents is doubtful and if the grants do not actually proceed from the exalted personages in whose names they are perpetuated they positively reflect the

spirit, the trend of thought and broad religious outlook, the mentality of the early Islamic subjugators of Persia. Their tenor, let me repeat, is reinforced by extant covenants preserved in older annals whose authors, like Beladhorī and Tabārī, were of Iranian origin and the former of whom was familiar with Pahlavi.

It is not impossible to fair research to evaluate the share which must belong to ourselves in the dilapidation and decadence of our religious literature. Of the overwhelming evidence which a study of years has enabled me to accumulate, I will cite one crystallised piece from our late Dr. West :

“The survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature, during three centuries of Mahāmādān era indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the

Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians adhered to their ancient religion they were able to preserve its literature almost intact even for centuries ; but when through conversion and extermination, the Mazda-worshippers had become a mere remnant, and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscripts, as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors. . . .”

A more legitimate and crushing grievance of our forefathers in Persia was the *Jaziya* or the poll tax. Or rather I would say the manner in which it was exacted. For even this imposition in its origin was an equitable tax inasmuch as it exempted us from the military service

to which Moslems were liable and secured us in theory the protection of the rulers against the designs of others. This tax was the continuation of a national impost from the Sassanian days. And *Jaziya* is a word of Persian not Arabic origin. What nearly annihilated our ancestors was the extortionate manner in which it was exacted from them. And here we have to remember that the tax collectors were generally themselves Persians and not foreigners and secondly that the iniquities and cruelties which accompanied the demands were not sanctioned by the eminent masters of early Moslem jurisprudence. Nay any disabilities that were inflicted upon us were of later origin and were there in the teeth of the principles of Islamic law and the nobler traditions.

In the dawn, however, of enlightenment, progress and Iranian equality, which Providence has bestowed with the advent of men like Sirdar Sipah and his

co-adjutors at the helm of affairs in Persia, let us not peep too meticulously into our past which our own prejudices may have darkened. Let us rather cheerfully, hopefully and confidently look forward into the future. Let us not look upon Ali, Gregory or Moses as Moslem, Christian or Jew but regard them all as our confreres, in many respects superior to us, and rejoice and take pride in the opportunity that has been vouchsafed for the amelioration of the country, which invites cordially and sincerely the comparatively trifling co-operation which it is in our power to lend her.

When Mr. Pestonji D. Marker sought my advice as to the best literature for the young Persians, especially of the Zoroastrian persuasion, I naturally thought of the treatment which conquering Arabs had accorded to the Persians. A fragment of history, if studied, would remove an age-long misunderstanding. For, if the

Zoroastrians of Persia have suffered, and their sufferings have been exceedingly heavy, it was not due to Islam, or wholly to the Arabs, but was a consequence of a combination of causes in which the priestly dominance of the later Sassanian period was not inconspicuous. It is no injustice to the Arabs of those days to say that they were actuated much more by greed than by religious zeal or even fanaticism. Most of them were plunderers, and as such, they left no mark on the lands they conquered, except the religion which they, to use modern phraseology, broadcasted. Perhaps the weightiest witness to the power of the Arab destruction is the greatest historian who wrote in Arabic, Ibn Khaldun. He believes that the Arabs have been mere wreckers and have erected nothing, and the Turkish Haji Khalifa utters against the Arabs a heavier denunciation.

The two charters of liberty, religious and civil, granted to the Zoroastrians have, as stated above, obvious textual and other defects, which may render one sceptical regarding their genuineness. But their importance is not diminished by the historical circumstances that similar charters were granted to province after province as the Arabs conquered Persia. In fact these records lead one insensibly on to the larger problem of the treatment accorded to the followers of Zoroaster for the first three centuries after the murder of the last Sassanian which was committed at Merv by one whose identity has not been established, but who was beyond question a Persian and not an Arab. At present I must confine myself to calling attention to this invaluable class of literature to refute which Parsi records are mute and tradition illusory. I do not know of any historian who now holds that the Zoroastrians were more

seriously molested by the Arabs than by their own quondam co-religionists, who had voluntarily embraced Islam upto the 11th Christian century. The destruction of the Zoroastrian literature is due in part to the Turks, more to the Afghans, and most to neglect and sacerdotal arrogance which made a monopoly of the relations between God and man.

Whatever were the circumstances during the first three centuries of the Arab advent—and these were not calculated entirely to extinguish Zoroastrianism—and whatever the conditions in which the unfortunate followers of Zoroaster lived in Persia after the sack of Kerman by the Afghans, being subjected to untold indignities and torturing *Jaziya*, a new period of hope has dawned on united Iran. The Persia of the Parliament and Riza Khan, and a limited and constitutional monarchy, is a land of perfect religious equality. Any disabilities

which may still press upon our co-religionists in Yezd are certainly not enforced by official authority. The Iran that produces a Sartip Mahmud Khan or a Yawar Sadik Khan, is a land of unsurpassed religious tolerance. Nor would it be proper to insinuate that the Mujtaheds are so actuated by intensive frenzy as to wish to banish Zoroastrianism from Persia. In to-day's Persia as Mr. Marker's mission has ample and abundant personal evidence, the patriotic son of the soil is Irani first and Moslem, Christian, Jew, or Zoroastrian in the second place.

That attention has not been called to those charters was due to the apathy with which my community has regarded Arabic literature, although the bulk of the contributors to it and the most brilliant among them were of Iranian origin and the civilisation which passes

under the name of Saracen or Arabian
is three parts Iranian.

Regarding the legal position of the Parsis in the eye of Islam as against, unfortunately at times, the real one during diverse epochs of the history of Persia, we have the unerring guidance of some of the earliest authorities. There we realise that the charters here presented are conceived in the relatively tolerant propensities of the prime exponents of Islam. We may inquire what treatment was officially prescribed by the celebrated Kazi Abu Yusuf who has been referred to by all subsequent writers as an authority. The Kazi was the most renowned pupil of Abu Hanifa, founder of the most liberal school of Moslem Jurisprudence, and was born in 731. He was appointed Kazi of Baghdad by the Khalifa Mehdi and continued to occupy the exalted position under Khalifa Harun till his death in

795. In his official capacity as Kazi of Baghdad he enforced the doctrine of his master Abu Hanifa who, we may parenthetically note, was regarded by his enemies as a crypto-Zoroastrian (*Beiträge lit. Shia und Sunni*, p. 69). Kazi Abu Yusuf had the independence to differ from his great master on many points but not on the status of Zoroastrians in Islamic countries. In his book *Kitab-al-Kharaj*, with an exhortation to Khalifa Harun on his imperial obligations, Kazi Abu Yusuf devotes a special chapter to the treatment of the Magians and idolators. Adverting to the harsh treatment of the Kitabis, among whom Zoroastrians were included, he stigmatises the transgression as "grave in the sight of God and dishonourable to Islam" (p. 62).

The Prophet himself was the first to make peace with the Magians of Hajar against payment of the *Jaziya* without

recognising as licit, either marriage with their women or the partaking of the meat slaughtered by them (p. 74). The acceptance of their tribute in the shape of the *Jaziya* placed the Zoroastrians, who are invariably termed **Magians** in our Arabic sources, on a par with Jews and Christians whose kindly treatment is repeatedly enjoined. And the precedent established by the Prophet, gave the lead to many of his successors.

Omar ibn Khattab, the second Khalifa, wrote to his representative in Dastmaysan to accept capitation tax from the Magians since the Prophet had accepted it from those of Hajar and thereby placed them in the category of Zimmis or protected communities like the Jews and Christians.

A *hadis* or sacred tradition originating from Ali himself states that the Prophet, Abu Bakar, and Omar accepted

the capitation tax from the Magians and that Ali added, “ I am one of those who know the Magians best. These people had a revealed Book which they read and a doctrine which they studied, but the same have now been wiped off from their hearts.”

Another *hadis* informs us that when some people referred to Omar regarding the tribe “who adored fire” but who were neither Jews nor Christians nor had a revealed Book, the Khalifa himself did not know how to deal with them. Upon this Abal Rehman ibn Auf, who was present, stood up and averred that the Prophet himself had laid down that the Magians should be treated exactly as the other “peoples of the Book” or Kitabis. On one occasion serious objection seems to have been taken to acceptance of the capitation tax from the Magians who were assumed to own no revealed Book, when Ahnaf got up and

addressing the objector said : “ You are uttering a falsehood with respect to the Prophet and you must show contrition for it; else, God forbid, I shall have to slay you.” The Prophet, according to Ahnaf, had positively accepted the capitation tax from the Magians of Hajar. The matter was submitted to Ali and the latter described how the Magians who were originally in possession of a revealed Book had lost it and he concluded by repeating that the Prophet had received the tax from the Magians because of their revealed Book, but that he prohibited either marriage with them or the partaking of their meat.

Hasan-al-Basri in reply to a question stated that the Prophet had accepted the capitation tax from the Magians of Bahrayn and had permitted them the exercise of Magian faith when Ala Hadhrami was his Amil or local agent at Bahrayn. Abu Bakar, therefore, con-

tinued to accept the tax from them, thereby conceding to them open profession of Zoroastrianism. After him Omar and Osman followed the precedent.

It is manifest from the above that there was a considerable Zoroastrian population in Arabia, especially in Najran, Yaman, and Bahrayn in the time of the Prophet and that it was not molested. In his *Kitab-ul-Kharaj* (p. 41) Abu Yusuf quotes a most extraordinary document executed by the Prophet and granted to the people of Najran. It stipulated that not only the Najrans would be free entirely to exercise their respective religions but that they should not be so much as allured to change their religion or the rank they held in it. The covenant is rehearsed in part by the historian Belazori in the chapter on the capitulation of Najran (*Kitab-ul-Buldan*, p. 71).

A third authority to which the

Zoroastrians could have appealed for tolerant treatment at the hands of their Islamic rulers, is Imam Mawardi, who died in Baghdad in 1058. In his standard work called *Ahkam-us-Sultaniyah*, he lays down that with regard to capitation tax, the Magians must be assigned the treatment similar to that meted out to the two preceding peoples, namely, Jews and Christians (p. 248). The statement that at first the Khalifa Omar was not inclined to treat the Magians on an equality with the Jews and Christians but that he was prevailed upon to take a juster view by Abdur Rahman ibn Auf, as stated above, is borne out by the celebrated commentator Bayzawi, Kazi of Shiraz, who died about 1286. Hence the conclusion to which an impartial enquiry must lead one is irresistible. The documents here published may not transmit the self-same text of the Islamic charters or grants or covenants

or what you will, but the Zoroastrians could at any period of their subjection to Moslem rulers, claim from the latter as a right a tolerant treatment in accordance with the prescriptions of their own eminent and revered law-givers.

As in point of time Islam is the last of the great religions of the world, it is not surprising that attempts continue to be made at tracing the influence of anterior faiths upon the life and doctrine of Prophet Muhammad. There is practically no end to the investigations on the side of Christianity and Judaism. The same cannot be said with reference to Zoroastrianism. There are still orthodox Parsis who believe that a good deal of the teachings of the Prophet represent what was accepted by him of the suggestions from Salman Farsi, the first and the most famous Zoroastrian proselyte to Islam. But both the traditions of Islam and of the Parsis have yet to be ade-

quately explored to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The latest researches of Dr. Horovitz (*Der Islam*, XII, 178) appear to point to negative results. Some years ago there was placed at my disposal a Zoroastrian traditional account of the life of Salman Farsi, prior to his adoption of Islam, prepared by the Parsi scholar Mr. Sorabji M. Desai of Navsari. I propose to deal with it on another occasion. Here we may only note the attempts that have been made in this connection in the West. The works of Stave and Bousset have been long brought to the notice of the Parsis by me and the illuminating contribution by the late Ignaz Goldziher has been translated by me. I take the opportunity to notice three other essays on the subject. Two of them preceded and the third followed Goldziher. M. E. Blochet, whom we know as the representative along with M. Meillet of Iranian studies in

France, has attempted to establish a connection between Borak, the winged-horse of the Prophet, with certain Parsi beliefs (E. Blochet, *Etudes sur l'histoire religieuse de l'Iran*, I, II: *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXVIII, 1898, pp. 26-68. and XL, 1899, pp. 1-25 and 203-236). To my great regret I have omitted up to now to notice the important researches of Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje on the same theme which appeared in 1901. According to this Dutch master of Islamic studies, Muhammad came in direct contact with the Parsis. Louis Gray published in the *Museon* the "Elements of Zoroastrian Origin in Islamic Eschatology" in 1903.

Although I am a member of the "Iran League" and am contributing my humble share to its progress, such are the vigour and enthusiasm, a warrant of ultimate success, displayed on the part of its most distinguished President,

Sir Hormasji C. Dinshaw, Kt., O.B.E.,
M.V.O., of Aden and Bombay, the
Working Committee and the Secretary
that I do not deem it out of place
to congratulate this young body on the
attainment so far of its lofty aims and the
confident hopefulness with which it can
encounter the future.

G. K. NARIMAN.

MAZAGAON,

BOMBAY,

JANUARY 1925.



No. 1

In the name of God, the Merciful, the
Compassionate !

This copy of the diploma, written per-
sonally by the Commander of the Faith-
ful 'Alib. Abi Talib (may God be pleased
with him !), was transcribed on a piece
of red vellum.

This is the letter from the Apostle of
God (may God bless him and assoil him)
to the freedman Farrukh b. Shakhshan,
brother of Salman Farsi (may God be
pleased with him !), and to his family
and posterity that he may have, as
long as they exist, regardless of which of
them will turn Moslem or will
remain faithful to his (original) creed.

Peace of God be upon you ! Verily
God has ordered me to say : There is no
deity but God, the One, Who has no
companion ! And I repeat this and have
ordered the people to repeat it. The

created world is the creation of God, the whole power belongs to Him, Who creates the people, and makes them live and then makes them die and decompose. He is the refuge, but everything ceases and disappears. "Every body has to taste death."¹ There is no possibility to oppose the will of God, no possibility of infringement of His authority. There are no limits to His greatness. He has no equal in His kingdom. Praise be to the King of the heavens and earth Who turns the things as He wishes and increases His creations as much as He desires. Praise be to the One Who cannot be (sufficiently) eulogised by the praises of those able to speak or cannot be imagined by the thought of the thinkers. He is the One Who opens His book with glorifications and makes it His own remembrance, accepting thanks from His slaves. His glory cannot be measured.

¹ The Koran—*Iqamah*—so says—is found in the Suras III, 182; XXI, 36, and XXX, 57.

sured by any one. And whoever praises God and testifies that there is no deity except God, he will be in peace, in protection, in safety and chastity. O men, be faithful to your Lord and remember about the day of the destruction of the earth and of the breathing of fire from hell, the day of the great horror and repentance, and of the appearance before the Lord of the Worlds. I order you in the same way as (other) Prophets used to do, to inquire about the 'Great News', and to learn it after some time. Whoever believes sincerely in what was inspired unto me from my Lord, he will receive the reward which we receive. He will be pious in this world and attain happiness in the Paradise of the Delight, with angels, servants of God, and the prophets, His apostles. And he will gain favor and freedom from hell.

This is what God promised to the

faithful, and verily God has mercy upon whom He pleases. He is the All-knowing, the Wise, severely chastising those who disobey Him, but also Merciful. For-giving. When this Koran descendeth to me on the hill, I saw it (the hill) lowering and cracking for the fear of God. Who-ever does not believe in it, he is one of sinners, but who believes in God, His religion and the prophets, he attains to the degree of those who come victorious.

This is my letter : verily upon him (*i.e.*, Farrukh b. Shakhshan) is the protec-tion of God, also upon his sons, with regard to their lives, property in the lands in which they live, plains or hills ; as well as freedom of use of the wells and pastures which they possess. They must not be treated unjustly or oppressed. And those to whom this my letter will be read, must protect them (*i.e.*, the Zoro-astrians), leave them free, and prevent the offences from others, and not show

hostility to them by insult or by using force.

I abolished for them the special shaving (of the head), the wearing of the *zunnar*, as well as paying taxes, to the day of Resurrection, together with other restrictions and burdens.

They are entirely free in their possessions of fire-temples as well as the landed and other property attached to the latter. No one also should restrict them in the use of rich dress, the use of stirrups, construction of buildings or stables, performing burials, or observing anything which is accepted in their religion or sects. They must be treated better than all other (non-Muhammadan) peoples under protection. Verily the reward of Salman (may God be pleased with him !) is obligatory upon every faithful (may God have mercy upon them!).

And it was said in the revelation received by me that the Paradise more

impatiently desires the presence of Salman than Salman wishes to go there. Really he is my intimate friend and adviser to the Prophet of God (may God bless him and assoil him), as well as to (all) Muslims. 'Salman is one of our family.'

No one shall oppose this my will, regarding what I have ordered as to protection and freedom of the co-religionists of Salman and their posterity, irrespective of the fact whether they embrace Islam or remain in their ancient creed. Whoever obeys this my command he will gain the pleasure of God, but those who mayhap disobey God and His Prophet, will be accursed to the day of Resurrection.

Who is generous to them, is generous to me, and he will receive naught but good from God. And who offends them, offends me, and I will be his enemy on the day of Judgment. His punishment is the

fire of hell, I withdraw my protection from him. Peace of God be upon you, compliments to you.

'Ali ibn Abi Talib wrote (this) by order of the Prophet of God (may God bless and assoil him!), in the presence of Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, Talha, Zubayr, 'Abdu'r-Rahman b. 'Auf, Salman, Abu Dharr, 'Ammar, Suhayb, Bilal, Migrdad b. al-Aswad and a number of other faithful (may God be pleased with them and with all companions of the Prophet!) This is the (impression of the) seal which was on the shoulder of the Arabian Prophet Muhammad al-Qurayshi.

Place of the seal of
Muhammad.

No. 2.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate !

This is the rescript of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali ibn Abi Talib to **Bahrain Shad b. Khiradars**, the Zoroastrian, who was in charge of the religious affairs of his community, as well as to his family in general, the descendants of **Adharbad son of Adarbad Marispand the Persian**.

Verily I made you safe with regard to your lives, property, wives and posterity. I granted you the promise of God and His protection, as well as the protection of His Prophet (may God bless and assoil him !), and ordered those amongst the Muhammadans, faithful to their creed, who obey God and His Prophet; also the rulers of provinces, the commanders of the troops, fighting in our cause of God, and the commanders of

the garrisons in the frontier regions, to the effect that they must protect and defend you, and show you kindness and goodwill, and remove oppression on you. I have abolished capitation tax payable by yourselves, your children and their descendants; also the royalties from your cattle and cows. I made you absolute masters of the houses (*i.e.*, fire-temples) which are built for yourselves all endowments of properties, lands and estates belonging to them as well as of other grants, and offerings to them and their necessary repairs.

I also sanction the custom, current amongst your community, according to which every man adhering to the Zoroastrian religion pays yearly, as a tax (*Jaziya*), one *dirham* to the headman from amongst yourselves who is charged with the (religious) authority over his community as well as adjudicates the causes which arise between them.

I made the (inheritable) property of those belonging to the Zoroastrian creed, but themselves of mixed birth, to pass to the religious head of your community when I heard the Apostle of God saying : 'The people descending from the parents of two religions do not inherit.'

All this I said to you when I satisfied myself as to your position in your community and chieftainship over it ; also that your remaining in this dignity conduces to their benefit. And I decided this when I realized concerning your sincerity in counsel, your devotion and affection for the people of your religion.

And it behoves the faithful men and women professing Islam, that they should defend Bahram Shad Khiradars, the Zoroastrian, concerning whatever is perpetuated of their (Zoroastrians') customs ; and that they should not impose claims of their own invention, or restriction whatever ; that they must be generous

to the generous amongst the Zoroastrians and condone their faults : that they should never, as long as the Zoroastrians exist, demand the capitation taxes from them : that they (the Moslems) should not compel them (the Zoroastrians) to change their religion in accordance with the word of God, the Blessed, the Most High (the Koran, II. 257) : ‘There is no compulsion in matters religious but only explanation (of the difference between) the right way and error.’

Let, therefore, all Moslems act according to this my order and execute my will concerning them (the Zoroastrians) and their posterity, whether they become Moslem or hold fast to their religion. Whoever accepts my order concerning them he will gain the pleasure of God and His Prophets : and whoso revolts against it or opposes it or acts against it will incur the wrath of God and His Prophet : he will antagonise me and

become my adversary and will remain in this enmity and rebellion to the day of Resurrection. Peace be upon you, may the Lord have mercy upon you!

This letter was written by his ('Ali's) son Husayn b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib (may God ennoble him) in the month of Rajab, the year 39 of the Hijrah (emigration) of the Arabian Prophet (prayers and God's peace be unto him).

No. 3. .

This is the covenant granted by the Commander of the Faithful 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (may God be pleased with him !)

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, whose help we invoke ! Bring Thou the matter to a successful close !

This rescript was written by orders of Ali b. Abi Talib for the benefit of the descendants of Adarbad Marispand, as well as of his posterity :

I have made you safe, and hereby I give a written promise on behalf of God, His Prophet (peace be unto him) and myself). I sanction the authority and headmanship which belonged to your family, and which shall pass to your descendants.

I give orders to the entire Muhainma-

dan community, to women and men who profess Islam, to the administrative officials and governors of the cities, kings, military chiefs, officials of frontier provinces, to the effect that : they must treat well yourself and your descendants, not to claim from you (*Jaziya*) taxes, to preserve the authority and chieftainship to you and your descendants, to keep oppression away from you, not to claim taxes for your lands and landed property, nor royalties on your cattle or cows, to consider it incumbent on them to have respect for you to leave your authority absolute in judgment of your co-religionists to confirm your claim if an yearly contribution of one silver *dirham* by every individual co-religionist was your custom, to leave the vast properties in connection with, in accordance with custom, fire-temples in your control. They (Muhammadans) must forgive you your errors and not interfere in the rights and

privileges of their (Zoroastrian) community. They (Muhammadans) must show all possible benevolence towards you.

As your position has been ascertained and as your authority (over Zoroastrians) and loyalty (to the Muhammadan government) I regard as correct, I have given this covenant (agreement) in order that all Muslims should look upon it as my verdict and regard it as my will. They must cease taking the *Jaziya* from them (Zoroastrians) and their descendants, and should treat them kindly, both in case they remain faithful to their own religion, or embrace Islam.

upon himself the wrath and disgrace of God and the Prophet, and will show hostility to myself.

Peace of God be upon you, may God pardon you.

This covenant was written by Husayn b. Ali b. Abi Talib, by order of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali b. Abi Talib, in the month of Rajab of the year 39 of the Hijrat or migration of the Apostle of God, Muhammad Arabi al-Ummi al-Qurayshi al-Hashimi (may God bless him and his family).

Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, our master Muhammad and his family, as well as all his companions.

بینهاد ایان



ایران لیک

ودرود خدا یتعالی بر شما باد و خدا شما را
پیامبر زد

و این عهد نامه را حسین بن علی بن ابی طالب
کرم الله وجهه نوشتند بفرمان امیر المؤمنین
علی بن ابی طالب رضی الله عنہما در ماد
رجب الترجب مال سی و نه از هاجر ت
رسول خدا مسیح عربی الامی القریشی الهاشمی
صلی الله علیه و آله وسلم و تسليمه کذیراً^۱
و الحمد لله رب العالمین و صلی الله علی سبده
محمد و آله واصحابه اجمعین وسلم تسليمه^۲

نخواهند و حرمت دست شما از جهان و اجدات شناصند.
 و دست شما ببر هکم کرد ن برهمه هم کیشانی شما مطاق
 دارند، و هر حال از هر همه (sic) کیش ^۱ یک درم سیم،
 که شما را رسم است، برشما مقرر دارند، و علکها
 که وقف آتشخانها است هر دست شما نگاه دارند،
 و از زشتهای شما در کفرند و عفو کنند و هیچ حق و
 خرط ایشان نگوید ازند، و هر نیکوئی که دواند در حق
 شما بچایی آردد ^۲ از آنکه پایه شو، معلوم شد . و
 ریاست و بند کی ع شما چون راست بدانندم پس
 این عهد دادم بایده که به عالمانان اینچشم از رأی
 ما بهانند و وصیت نما نگاه دارند و جزوی ایشان و
 فرزندان ایشان عوقف شناسند و برعایت کنند اکر
 بود بین خوبیش باشند و اکرم مسلمان شوند ،

و هر که فرمان پذیرد و پیده عن در حق ایش
 نگاه دارد خوشبودی خدای و پیغمبر آنست، و هر ک
 خلاص کند و ایشان را نیکونداورد ادر سخط و خشم
 خدا و رسالت، و مر خلاص کرده ^۳ :

باشد ^۱ Add. ^۲ موقف Here. ^۳ از هر کیشی

No. 3

این شید نامه از امیر احمد بن علی
بن ابی طاib رئیس الله عنہ است

سم الله الرحمن الرحيم، وبه نعمترين و قدم بالخيس.
این کتاب علی ابن ابی طالب فرمود نوشتن از بهر
غوزدان آذرباد مهر اصفند بهرام شاد بن خیرادرس
رئیس دهستان و از بهر خاندان او، که شمارا این
گردانیلام و عهد خدای عزوجل و از زرمه مای الله
عایه وسلم و از خویش شمارا دادم، و چنانکه ریاست
و هنری که همگنان خاندان شما بود بر شما و فرزنهان
شما ارزانی داشتم، و فرمان بیدهم بر جمله امتنان
محمد محبطفی را، مای الله عایه و سام، و از زنان و از
مردان جماعت مومنان و مسامانان و عاملان و وايان
شهرها را و پادشاهان و غاريان و ماهاب طرفان را
تا شمارا و فرزنهان شما را نیکودارند و جزیه از
شما لخواهند و ریاست و هنری بو شما و فرزنهان شما
نکاه دارند و بیدادی از شما دور دارند و از زمینها و
ساکنهاي شما خراج و صدقة کو هفتاد و کاوان

الْمَجِوْصِي عَلَيْهِ مَا جَرِيَ رَسُومُهُ، وَأَنْ لَا يَقْتَرَبَ
 بِحَقَّهُ مِنْ حُقُوقِهِمْ وَلَا شَرْطًا مِنْ شُرُوطِهِمْ، وَأَنْ يَكُونَ
 بِعْوَارِ كَرِيمِهِمْ وَيَعْفُوا عَنْ هَمَاءَتِهِمْ وَلَا يَطَالِبُوهُنَّ جُزِيَّةَ
 رُؤُوسِهِمْ إِنَّهَا مَا تَنَاهَىُوا، أَوْ أَنْ لَا يَذْكُرُوهُنَّ عَلَيْهِ
 الْدِينَ لِقُولِ اللَّهِ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى، لَا إِكْرَارًا فِي الْأَدْيَنَ
 فَهَذِهِ قَبْلَهُ أَبْرَشَدَ مِنْ أَلْغَافِي

فَلِيَعْلَمَهُ جَمِيعُ الْمُسَامِيْنَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ أَمْرِي وَارْدَهَا
 وَعِصَمِيَّهُ فِيهِمْ وَفِي ذَرَارِيْهِمْ مِنْ أَصْلِمْ مِنْهُمْ وَمِنْ
 قَامَ عَلَيْهِ دِينَهُ وَمِنْ قَبْلِ أَمْرِي مِمْهُمْ فَهُوَ (نَبِيٌّ) رَضَاءُ
 اللَّهِ وَرَضَاءُ رَسُولِهِ، وَمِنْ عَصَاهُ وَخَالَفَ وَنَهَى
 إِلَى غَيْرِهِ فَهُوَ نَبِيٌّ سَخْطُ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ، وَقَدْ خَالَدَهُ وَ
 أَصْبَحَهُ فَدِيْكُونَ الْمَهَادِهِ وَالْمَعْضَاءِ الْيَوْمِ يَوْمُ الْدِينِ
 وَالْإِسْلَامُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَبِرَحْمَمِ رَبِّكُمْ

وَكَتَبَهُ أَنَّهُ حَسَنَ بْنُ عَلَيْهِ بْنُ أَبِي طَابِبٍ
 كَرَمُ اللَّهِ وَجَهَهُ فِي رَجَبِ الْمَرْجَبِ سَنَةِ تَسْعَ
 وَتَلَذِّيْنِ مِنْ هَاجِرَةِ النَّبِيِّ الْعَوْرَبِيِّ، عَلَيْهِ
 عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

وَلِمُلْكِتُ أَبْدِيكُمْ فِي بِيروتِ بَنِيتُ لَكُمْ وَلِبَوَايَهَا وَ
أَرْسَيْهَا وَالضَّيْعَاهُ الْمُوْقَوْدَهُ تَلِيهَا وَهَذَا يَا هَا وَ
جَمِيعَ مَرْأَقَهَا وَبَنَاءَهَا يَشَدَّهُ لَهُرْمَتَهَا وَأَبْهَتَ الرَّوْسَ
أَجَارِيَ لَكُمْ عَلَى كُلِّ رَجُلٍ مِّنْ بَنِيتَكُمْ بَنِينَ
الْمَجَوسِيَ وَيُودُّي الْجَزِيَّةَ فِي أَهْلِ مَلْكَمْ دُرْهَمَا
فِي كُلِّ صَنَاعَهُ لَمَنْ يَلِي الْرِّيَاحَهُ مِنْ أَهْلِ دِينِكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ
وَالْحُكْمِ فِيهَا يَدْفَهُمْ وَجَعَلَتْ فَضْلَ الْمُوَلَّهِينَ الْمَمْسَكِينَ
مِنَ الْمَجَوسِ الْمَرْؤِسِ مَنْكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَمَا سَعَيْتَ رَسُولَ
الْاَمَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَامَ يَقَعُولَ اَهْلَ مَسْكِينَ لَا
يَقُولُ اَرْدُونَ فَقَاتَ ذَلِكَ بَنِكَ لَمَّا اَنْذَهَيْتَ اَلَّيْ بَنْ مَغْزَنَ اَقْتَمَ
فِي اَهْلِ دِينِكُمْ وَرِيَاضَتِكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَقِيَادَتِكُمْ فِيَهُ صَلَحَ
اَعْرَهُمْ وَلَمَا وَقَتَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنْ مَذَاجِنَكُمْ وَطَاعَنَكُمْ
وَحِبَّكُمْ اَهْلَ دِينِكُمْ عَلَى "النَّصْعَ وَالظَّاهَهَ وَالْمَعْلَمَهَينَ"
كَافَّهُ فَعَلَيَّ الْمُوْمَنِينَ وَالْمُوْمَنَاتَ وَالْمَسَامِينَ
وَالْمَسَامِاتَ أَنْ يَحْفَظُوا بِهِرَامَ شَادَ جُونَ اَدْرَاسَ
Sic ! ³ خَيْرَ اَرْجَاعٍ ³ Orig.

No 2

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ هَذَا كِتَابٌ مِّنْ أَمْرِي
أَيْضًا مُنْتَهِيَّ عَنِ ابْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ كَرَمِ اللَّهِ وَاجْهَهُ
لِبَهْرَامِ شَهَادِ بْنِ خَيْرَا درَسِ السَّاجِدِي مَقْوِلِي
أَمْرِ دِيَنْهُمْ وَأَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ الْمَنْسُوبِ إِلَيْيَ اَذْرِيَادِ
بْنِ مَيَا زَاسِنْدَارِ الْفَارَسِيِّ

إِنِّي قَدْ أَمْنَثْتُكُمْ عَلَى دُعَائِكُمْ وَ مَوَالِكُمْ وَ حَرَّ
مَكْمُ وَ ذَرَارِيَّكُمْ وَ اعْطَيْتُكُمْ عَهْدَ اللَّهِ وَ ذَمَّةَ وَذَمَّةٍ
رَسُولِهِ مُحَمَّدٌ، صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَأَمْرَتُ أَهْلَ
طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمِينَ
الْمُقْتَلِّينَ (وَ) اَعْمَالِ الدَّوَاهِيِّ وَالْمُجَاهِدِينَ فِي
صَبَيلِ اللَّهِ وَالْمَرَابِطِينَ فِي ظُفُورِهِمْ لِحَفْظِكُمْ وَهَدِيَّ
طَفْكُمْ وَالرَّأْفَةِ هَايِكُمْ وَالْاِهْمَانِ إِلَيْكُمْ وَدَفْعِ الْظَّلْمِ
عَنْكُمْ وَرَفَعْتُ عَنْكُمْ جُزِيَّةَ رُوُسِكُمْ وَرُوُسِ اُولَادِ
كُمْ وَمَنْ تَنَاهَى عَنْكُمْ وَصَدَقَاتُهُ مَوَشِّيَّكُمْ وَبَقْرَكُمْ
رُوْسِكُمْ Orig. وَ المَوَالِي Orig.

وكتب عليه ابن أبي طالب بأمر رسول الله، صلي الله عليه وسلم، باختصار أبي بكر وعمر وعثمان وطلحة وزبير وعبد الرحمن بن عوف وسلمان وأبوزر وعمار ومهب وبلال ومقداد بن الأسود وجماعة من المؤمنين، وعوان الله عليهم وعلى الصحابة أجمعين، هذا الخاتم كان في يد النبي العربي محمد الترمذى، صلي الله عليه وآله وصحابته وسلم نسبياً كثيراً.

محظى بهرود على الله
عليه وسلم

صحبة Orig. المترشى

والركوب وبناء المدح والاصطبل وحمل اسهمنا نز و
اللهاد ما يتجدون في دينهم وما هبهم، ويفضاوهم
على صائر العلل من اهل الذهمة، فـ^{قـ}اتن حق صمام ،
رضي الله عنه، ولجب على جميع المؤمنين برحمهم
الله، وفي الوحي اليه أن الجنة الى صمام أشوق من
صمام الي الجنة وهو ذقني وأميدي وناصع لرسول
الله، على الله عايه وسلام، ولا مودعين، وصمام متى ،
فلا يخالفن احد هذه الوصيـة مما أمرت به من
الحفظ والامر الذي لا هل بيت صمام وذرارتهم
عن اصلم منهم او فاق على دينه، ومن قبل أمرى
 فهو في رحمة الله تعالى ومن خالف الله ورسوله
فعاية الاعنة الي يوم الدين، ومن اكرمهـم فقد
اكرمنـى وله عند الله خير، ومن اذـاهـم فقد اذـانـى
واما خصمه يوم القـيـمة وجراـءـة نـار جـهـنـمـ وبرـوتـ
صـمة ذـمـنى، وانـسـلام عـاـيـدـمـ والـلـحـيـةـ لـكـمـ

علين وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يَرْحُمُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُوَ الْعَلِيمُ السَّكِينُ
شَدِيدُهُ الْعَقَابُ لَمَنْ عَصَاهُ وَهُوَ الْغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ؛ وَتَمَّ
انزَلَنَا هَذَا الْقُوْآنُ عَلَيْنَا جَبِيلٌ لِرَأْيِهِ خَاشِعًا مُنْصَهُ عَلَى
مِنْ خُشْبَيْهِ اللَّهُ، وَمَنْ لَا يُؤْمِنُ بِهِ وَهُوَ مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ وَمَنْ
أَمْنَ بِاللَّهِ وَبِدِينِهِ وَرُحْلَةِ وَهُوَ فِي دُرُجَاتِ الْفَدَى
لَزِينُ'.

وَهَذَا كَتَابِي إِنَّ اللَّهَ ذَمَّ اللَّهَ وَعَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ عَلَى
دَمَّا تَهْمُ وَاصْوَالَهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي أَقَامُوا عَلَيْهَا
مَهَاجِرَاهُمْ وَجَدَاهُمْ وَعَيْونَهُمْ وَصَرَاعِيهَا فِيْرَ مَظَاوِيْهِمْ وَ
لَا مُضْدِيقٌ عَلَيْهِمْ؛ وَمَنْ قَرَئَ^١ عَلَيْهِمْ كِتَابِي هَذَا
وَلَا يَخْفَطُهُمْ وَبَيْرَهُمْ^٢ وَيَمْنَعُ الظُّلْمَ عَنْهُمْ وَلَا يَتَعرَّضُ
لَهُمْ بِالْأَذْى وَالْمَكَارَةِ؛ وَقَدْ رَفَعْتُ عَنْهُمْ جَزْءًا لِذَاقَوْهُ
وَالْزِنَارَةِ وَالْبِيْزَيْهِ الَّتِي الْحَسَرُ وَالنَّشَرُ وَصَافَرُ
الْمُؤْنُ وَالْكَالَفُ، وَأَيَّدَهُمْ مَطَافَةً عَلَى بَيْوتِ الْبَيْرَانِ
وَضَمَّنَهَا عَهَاؤِهِمْ لَا يَمْنَعُونَهُمْ مِنْ أَلْبَانِ^٣ لِفَاحِرٍ

^١ بَيْرُهُمْ Orig. ^٢ لَوْ

فَهُنَّا كُلُّهُمْ لِلْحَسْبَانِ وَلَا يَهْمِهُ لِعَظَمَةٍ وَلَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ فِي مَلْكَةٍ،
سَبِّحَانَ مَالِكِ الْحَمَوَادِ وَالْأَرْغُنِ الَّذِي يُقْلِبُ الْأَمْرَ
كَمَا يُرِيدُ وَيُزِيزُهُ الْخَلْقُ عَلَيْهِ مَا يُشَاءُ، سَبِّحَانَ الَّذِي لَا
يُحِيطُ بِهِ صَفَّةُ الْقَائِلِينَ وَلَا يَدْلِغُهُ وَهُمُ الْمُتَفَكِّرُونَ، الَّذِي
الْفَتَحَ بِالْحَمْدِ كِتَابَهُ وَجَعَلَ لَهُ ذِكْرًا وَرَضِيَّ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ
شُكْرًا، حَمْدَةٌ لَا يَعْصِي أَحَدٌ عَدْدُهُ فِيمَنْ حَمَدَ اللَّهَ
وَأَشْهَدَ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّاهُ فَهُوَ فِي الْغَيْبَيْتِ وَالسُّرُورِ (وَ)
الْكَلَاءِ وَالْعَصْمَةِ، يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اتَّقُوا رَبِّكُمْ وَاذْكُرُوا
هُنُومَ ضَعْفَسُّهُ الْأَرْغُنَ وَنَفْخَ نَارِ الْحَمْجِيْمِ وَالْفَرْعَزِ الْأَكْبَرِ
وَالنَّهَادَةِ وَالْوَقْوفِ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ، أَذْنَقُوكُمْ
كَمَا أَذْنَقَ الْمُرْصَلُونَ لِتَسْكُنَانَ مِنْ النَّبِيَّ إِبْرَهِيمَ وَلِتَعْلَمُنَّ
قِبَادَةَ بَعْدِ حِينٍ، فَمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَصَدَقَ مَا جَاءَ فِيهَا
أَوْهِيَ أَلَىٰ مِنْ رَبِّي فَلَهُ مَا لَدَاهُ وَعَلَيْهِ مَا عَلَيْهَا
وَلَهُ الْعَصْمَةُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالسُّرُورُ فِي جَنَّاتِ الْفَعِيمِ
مَعَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ الْمُقْرَبِينَ وَالْأَنْبِيَاءِ الْمُرْصَلِينَ وَلَا مِنْ
وَالْمُنْهَلِّمِ مِنْ عَذَابِ الْحَمْجِيْمِ، هَذَا مَا وَعَهُ اللَّهُ الْأَعْلَمُ.

١ Orig. ملظافية

² Orig. ³ Orig. ⁴ Orig. ⁵ Orig.

No. 1

بِسْمِ اللَّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ، نَسْخَةٌ مُنْسُوْرَةٌ
بِالخطِّ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى اَبْنِ اَبْوِ طَاَبٍ^{رضي}،
“اَعْمَهُ كِتْبَيَا عَلَى اَذْدِيمِ الْاحْمَرِ”

هذا كتاب من رسول الله صلى النبِير
عليه و سلم^{رسوني}³ فروخ⁴ بن شخصان أخي
سلمان الغارسي^{رضي النبِير عنه} وأهل بيته.
و عقبه من بعده و ما تناولوا و من أسلم صيته
او قاتل على دينه⁵

سَلَامُ الَّمَ عَلَيْكَ إِنَّ الَّمَ اَوْزَيَ أَنْ اقُولَ لَاَلَمَ
إِنَّ الَّمَ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ^(و) اَفْرَاهِمَ وَأَهْرَادِمَاسَ⁶
الْخَلْقَ خَلَقَ الَّمَ وَالْاَمْرَ كَلَمَ لَمْ خَلَقُوهُمْ وَاهْيَاهُمْ وَ
اصْنَاطُهُمْ ذَمَ يَدْشُرُهُمْ وَالْيَهُ الْمَصِيرُ وَكُلُّ اَمْرٍ يَزُولُ وَ
يَقْنِي وَكُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَاقَةً⁷ لَمُوْهٍ، وَلَا مُرْدٍ لَاصْرِ اللهِ وَلَا

¹ Orig. ² بمهدی ³ فروخ. ⁴ اليک. ⁵ امرؤا. ⁶ Better than the original. ⁷ corrected on the margins.

